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594 869 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both [847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent [586] causes for divorce.

163 [165] At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are 593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 556 [595] If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife, [602] look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella [888] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[10]

[178] [10]This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and so one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his family are liable.

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differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic groupings of nephews and nieces show "family," as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, rhetorical terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought.

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, "Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation once removed," a form of address which does not require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic application of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella

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Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch.

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man cannot become a chief except through large payments made by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch, this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common.

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief.

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the *nusk* society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

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855 rebuked. They grow up in the open environment of the
[861] houses, absorbing more of their lore by watching and imitat-
[854] ing than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative. There are no avoidances between the young people and their
606 parents-in-law.

602 The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the
431 marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a *hasiwi* dance or other ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presents given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the woman loses financially in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overworked through the necessity of
[554] providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any ceremonial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate
[556] goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

602 The concept of mutual help between families who have
476 intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1922 there was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *hwiat*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogatives embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die children the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *nuxuit* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 491 425 [715] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [627] [432] [48]

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A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer his guests in his wife's relatives thus enables to ask their assistance. The following is a good instance of such an insult:

About 1920 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of ceremony, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have rebought her for the hands of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the cousk. The father of the dead woman came forward unicorned with a large present for such, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that he his wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This event further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the dower of the potlatch END "to make clear where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

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Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The decease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without dickering, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

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this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. 764 [125]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world. 763 [402] [175]

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *xoxod*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Mulelala*. A *xoxod* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *xoxod* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *xoxod* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *xoxod* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Mulelala* (also called *Sisiutlpenaxa*), 375 766 [174]

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177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
[181] have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
[181] presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The daily validated warning is heard because he feels that everyone is aware of his value. The man who performs some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
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577 124 edly until complete confidence was established, simplifying work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy. 177 22 Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends. In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual 577 422 were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after having goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced 602 if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing con- 177 strains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not 648 uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who, 177 according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

153 124 Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

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105 of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is
182 seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by
[626] the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to
[556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask
[602] how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of
[356] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic
[161] to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been
[36] reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered villages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown